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THE EPIGRAPHIC SOURCES OF SUETONIUS

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No one has hitherto undertaken a thorough investigation in regard to the extent to which the ancient Roman historians made use of epigraphical monuments.<sup>1</sup> Of those who have written on the sources of Suetonius, Maffei<sup>2</sup> has given some attention to the inscriptions actually occurring in the text; Schweiger<sup>3</sup> has merely mentioned the Monumentum Ancyranum (p. 13), the Fasti (p. 19), and the public monuments (pp. 24, 26); Krause<sup>4</sup> refers only in a general way to the Fasti, acta publica, monumenta (pp. 29, 30, 35, 42, 53-55, 58, 75), and to the Monumentum Ancyranum, which, he remarks, Suetonius "summa cum diligentia consuluit"; H. Lehmann<sup>5</sup> treats briefly of the epigraphical sources of Suetonius with special reference to the Monumentum Ancyranum; likewise Egger in a discussion of the historians of the time of Augustus<sup>6</sup> (pp. 270-272), Baumgarten-Crusius in his edition of Suetonius<sup>7</sup> (III, p. 714 f.), and Roth in his edition of Suetonius (p. xv).

Inscriptions are rightly regarded by modern historians as affording invaluable evidence for the understanding of ancient life and the unravelling of ancient history. This is apparent to one familiar with the works of Th. Mommsen, for example, who in this field is easily *doctorum princeps*. Ancient histo-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hübner's remark in Ivan v. Müller's *Handbuch*, I, p. 628 (*fin.*).

<sup>2</sup> *Ars critica Lapid.* lib. II, cap. II, pp. 43 f.

<sup>3</sup> *De fontibus atque auctoritate vitarum XII Imperatorum Suetonii*, Göttingen, 1830.

<sup>4</sup> *De C. Suetonii Tranquilli fontibus et auctoritate*, Berlin, 1831.

<sup>5</sup> *Claudius und Nero und ihre Zeit*, Gotha, 1858, pp. 50-53.

<sup>6</sup> *Examen des historiens anciens du règne d'Auguste*, Paris, 1844.

<sup>7</sup> Published at Turin, 1823-26.

rians, as well, were able to avail themselves of the evidence of inscriptions if they chose to do so, though in the time of Suetonius the extant documentary evidence was doubtless more abundant and more easily accessible.

In the first place, an examination of the text of Suetonius will be helpful in determining how communicative the historian is, in general, with regard to the sources from which he drew.

There are many passages that refer in a general way to the source, *e.g.* *scribunt quidam* (*Aug.* 15); *ut quidam putant* (*Tib.* 9, *Cal.* 23); *ut plurimi tradant* (*Cal.* 4); *ut multi opinantur* (*Otho* 9); *a nonnullis . . . proditum* (*Aug.* 3); *ex nonnullis comperi* (*Nero* 29); *iactatum a quibusdam* (*Vesp.* 16); *constans opinio est* (*Caes.* 50); *alii tradunt* (*Cal.* 25); *originem alii aliam tradunt* (*Vit.* 1); *sunt qui putent . . . alii opinantur* (*Caes.* 86); *quidam tradunt . . . ; alii . . . diversa fama est. Multi . . . aiunt. Nonnulli . . .* (*Claud.* 44); *nec tamen desunt qui . . . scribant* (*Tib.* 5), etc.

Frequently, remarks of different emperors<sup>1</sup> are quoted directly, in extracts that Suetonius presumably took from literary sources, *e.g.* *Etiam nunc regredi possumus; quod si ponticulum transierimus, omnia armis agenda erunt* (*Caes.* 31); *Quintili Vare, legiones redde!* (*Aug.* 23); *Ipsius verba sunt: Dum veniam ad id tempus, quo vobis aequum possit videri dare vos aliquam senectuti meae requiem* (*Tib.* 24); (*ut ipse dicebat*) ἀξιόθρι-ἀμβερον (*Cal.* 47). Other direct quotations are to be found in *Aug.* 51, 99, *Tib.* 28, *Claud.* 16, *Nero* 49, *Vesp.* 8; and of unknown authorship, *Aug.* 26, *Cal.* 8. Quotations of this character are very numerous. There are, for example, in the life of Augustus, nineteen direct quotations, of which fourteen are from the emperor himself; in the life of Tiberius, there are thirteen, nine being from Tiberius and one from Augustus. These quotations are now in verse, now in prose, sometimes in Latin, and again in Greek.

Many passages quote, occasionally directly, more often in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Shuckburgh, *C. Suetoni Tranquilli Divus Augustus*, Cambridge, 1896, pp. xxxi f.

indirect discourse, from writers and historians, some of whom are obscure, others well known. Of those who are not known to us from other sources, or whose writings have entirely or almost entirely perished, may be mentioned Aquilius Niger (*Aug.* 11), Iunius Saturninus (*Aug.* 27), C. Drusus (*Aug.* 94), Iulius Marathus (*Aug.* 79, 94), Cordus Cremutius (*Aug.* 35), Cassius Severus (*Vit.* 2), Tanusius Geminus (*Caes.* 9), M. Actorius Naso (*Caes.* 9, 52), Titus Ampius (*Caes.* 77). Well-known authors quoted are Cicero, — *de Officiis* (*Caes.* 30), *Epist.* (*Caes.* 49, *Aug.* 3), *ad Brutum* (*Caes.* 55, 56), three quotations being without definite reference to his works (*Caes.* 42, 50, *Aug.* 94); Cornelius Nepos (*Aug.* 77); M. Antonius (*Caes.* 52, *Aug.* 2, 4, 7, 10, 16, 63, 68, 69, 70); Asinius Pollio (*Caes.* 55, 56); Hirtius (*Caes.* 56); Plinius Secundus (*Cal.* 8).

Suetonius made much use of the letters of the emperors in writing the history of their lives. The letters of Augustus are quoted *orat. rect.* fourteen times,<sup>1</sup> several times at length. Some peculiarities<sup>2</sup> in Augustus's handwriting and language are noted by the historian (*Aug.* 87, 88). So, too, in the case of the letters of Caesar, Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian, extracts<sup>3</sup> are made or peculiarities noted. But Suetonius was familiar with different books and pamphlets published by the Caesars, as well as with their correspondence. He quotes a *laudatio* delivered by Iulius Caesar (*Caes.* 6), mentions other works of his (*Caes.* 26), and discusses his Commentaries and their authorship (*Caes.* 56); he quotes directly an edict of Augustus (*Aug.* 28), and was acquainted with five of his works (*Aug.* 85); he made an extract from the autobiography of Tiberius (*Tib.* 61); used the histories written by Claudius (*Claud.* 21), as well as a certain pamphlet of his (*ibid.* 2), some orations (*ibid.* 38), and others of Claudius's works (*ibid.* 33, 38, 41, 42); he was familiar with a *carmen* written by Nero (*Nero*,

<sup>1</sup> *Aug.* 51, 71 (3), 76 (3), 86, 92; *Tib.* 21; *Cal.* 8; *Claud.* 4 (3).

<sup>2</sup> See below (p. 44), where passages are quoted proving that Suetonius had access to autograph letters of Augustus.

<sup>3</sup> *Caes.* 26, 56; *Tib.* 67; *Cal.* 23; *Nero*, 23, 41; *Dom.* 13.

24); and he mentions a history composed by the grandfather of Galba as *multiplicem nec incuriosam* (*Galba*, 3).

Mention is made also of the *acta publica* and *acta diurna* (*Tib.* 5, *Cal.* 8, *Claud.* 41), as sources of information, and of the *acta senatus*<sup>1</sup> (*Aug.* 5). A part of *Aug.* 58 seems to have been taken verbatim from the *acta senatus*.

Suetonius is careful to indicate the source when he relates the story told by his grandfather (*Cal.* 19), or recounts the events of which his father (*Otho*, 10) or he himself (*Dom.* 12) was an eyewitness.

There are also passages which indicate that Suetonius often took pains to consult different sources of information in regard to the same question, and that, after examining them all carefully, he formed his own opinion in view of all the evidence. This is observed in his treatment of the origin of the Octavian family (*Aug.* 2), and of the various accounts of the birthplace of Caligula (*Cal.* 8). We may here notice, too, the expressions *ut equidem mirer* (*Aug.* 3); *omitto senatus consulta quia possunt videri vel necessitate expressa vel verecundia* (*Aug.* 57); *nec ego id notare, nisi mihi mirum videretur tradidisse aliquos . . .* (*Aug.* 88); *Scio vulgo persuasum. . . . Ne illud quidem ignoro aliquos tradidisse. . . . Adduci tamen nequeo quin existimem . . .* (*Tib.* 21); *unde credo* (*Cal.* 51); *unde existimo* (*Claud.* 1); *ipse ne vestigium quidem de hoc, quamvis satis curiose inquirerem, inveni* (*Vesp.* 1). He presents matters of small importance (*Claud.* 1), *ne praetermitterem quam quia verum aut veri simile putem*.

In the light of this brief survey, we are able to understand to what extent Suetonius has expressly made mention of the writings and documents which he used as sources. If, therefore, he has referred so freely to the writers to whom he is indebted, and to the works from which he has made extracts, we may reasonably expect that he will as freely refer to the inscriptions, if he really used these as historical material.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. Hübner, *De Senatus populi Romani actis*, in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher f. klass. Phil.* (suppl. Band, fünftes Heft), 1890, pp. 559-631.

## THE MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM AND SUETONIUS

In the discussion of the epigraphical sources, especially of the life of Augustus, we must consider, as of prime importance, the Monumentum Ancyranum. Suetonius's indebtedness to this inscription has been treated, other than by those mentioned above (p. 27), by Mommsen in his edition (pp. ix, 1, 31, 50, 91, 132).<sup>1</sup> That it may be better understood how far the language of Suetonius corresponds to that of the monument, I have subjoined the following table, in which I have introduced the text of the inscription so far as it deals with subject-matter transmitted also by Suetonius:

MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM	SUETONIUS
	<i>Augustus</i> , 101
1. Rerum gestarum divi Augusti, quibus orbem terra[rum] imperio populi Rom(ani) subiecit, et impensarum, quas in rem publicam populumque Ro[ma]num fecit, incisarum in duabus aheneis pilis, quae su[n]t Romae positae, exemplar sub[i]ectum.	. . . indicem rerum a se gestarum, quem vellet incidi in aeneis tabulis, quae ante Mausoleum statuerentur.
<i>M.A. I</i> , 1-3	<i>Aug.</i> 8
2. Annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi, per quem rem publicam [do]minatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindica[vi].	Atque ab eo tempore exercitibus comparatis . . . solus rem p. tenuit.
<i>M.A. I</i> , 6, 7	<i>Aug.</i> 10
3. Res publica n[e] quid detrimenti caperet, me] pro praetore simul cum consulibus pro[videre] iussit].	iussusque comparato exercitui pro praetore praesse et cum Hirtio ac Pansa, qui consulatum susceperant, D. Bruto opem ferre.
<i>M.A. I</i> , 10-12	<i>Aug.</i> 10
4. Qui parentem meum [interfecer]un[t, eo]s in exilium expulsi iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum [fa]cin[us, e]t postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici b[is a]cie.	nihil convenientius ducens quam necem avunculi vindicare tuerique acta, . . . Brutum Cassiumque . . . legibus adgredi reosque caedis absentis deferre statuit.
	<i>Aug.</i> 13
	Philippense quoque bellum . . . duplici proelio transegit.

<sup>1</sup> *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, Berol. 1883.

M.A. I, 13

5. B]ella terra et mari c[ivilia exter]naque  
toto in orbe terrarum s[uscepi].

Aug. 9

Bella civilia quinque  
gessit.

M.A. I, 21, 22

6. Bis] ovans trium-  
pha[vi, tris egi c]urulis  
triumphos.

Aug. 22

Bis ovans ingressus est urbem, post Philip-  
pense et rursus post Siculum bellum. Curulis  
triumphos tris egit, Delmaticum, Actiacum,  
Alexandrinum, continuo triduo omnes.

M.A. I, 24, 25

7. Ob res a [me aut per legatos]  
meos auspiciis meis terra m[arique]  
pr[o]spere gestas, etc.

Aug. 21

Domuit autem partim ductu par-  
tim auspiciis suis Cantabriam, Aquit-  
taniam, etc.

M.A. I, 31, 32

8. Dictatura]m et apsent[i et  
praesenti mihi datam . . . a populo  
et senatu M. Marce]llo e[t] L. Ar-  
[runtio consulibus non accepi.

Aug. 52

Dictaturam magna vi offerente  
populo, genu nixus deiecta ab ume-  
ris toga nudo pectore deprecatus  
est.

M.A. I, 32-35

9. Non recusavi in summa fru-  
menti p]enuri[a c]uratio[ne]m an-  
[nonae, qu]am ita ad[ministravi,  
ut . . . paucis diebu]s metu et  
per[i]c[ulo quo erat populu]m uni-  
v[ersum meis impensis liberarem].

Aug. 41

Frumentum quoque in annonae  
difficultatibus saepe levissimo, inter-  
dum nullo pretio viritim admensus  
est tesserasque nummarias dupli-  
cavit.

Cf. also Aug. 42.

M.A. I, 35, 36

10. Con[sulatum tum dat]um  
annuum e[t] perpetuum non ac-  
cepi].

Aug. 26 treats of the consulships  
of Augustus, but nothing is said  
about the consulship for life being  
offered him.

M.A. Gr. III, 14-19

11. τῆς [τε σ]υνκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ  
Ῥωμαίων ὁμολογ[ο]ύντων, ἵν[α ἐπιμέ]λητῆς τῶν  
τε νόμων καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἐπὶ τῇ με]γίστῃ  
[ἐξ]ουσ[ία μ]ό[νο]ς χειροτονηθῶ, ἀρχὴν οὐδε-  
μ[ία]ν παρὰ τὰ πά[τρ]ια ἐ[θ]ῆ διδομένην  
ἀνεδεξάμην.

Aug. 27

Recepit et morum le-  
gumque regimen aequae  
perpetuum . . .

M.A. Gr. III, 19-23

12. ἃ δὲ τότε δι' ἐμοῦ ἡ σύνκλητος οἰκono-  
μείσθαι ἐβούλετο, τῆς δημαρχικῆς ἐξο[v]σίας  
ὡν ἐτέλ[η]σα. Κ]αὶ ταύτης αὐτῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς  
συνάρχοντα αὐτ[ὸς] ἀπὸ τῆς συνκλήτου π[εν]τά-  
κισ αἰτήσας [ἐλ]αβον.

Aug. 27

Tribuniciam potesta-  
tem perpetuam recepit,  
in qua semel atque ite-  
rum per singula lustra  
collegam sibi cooptavit.

*M.A. Gr. IV, 1, 2*

13. Τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐγενόμην δημο-  
σίων πραγμάτων κατορθωτῆς συνεχέ-  
σιν ἔτεσιν δέκα.

*Aug. 27*

Triumviratum rei p. constituen-  
dae per decem annos administravit.

*M.A. II, 1, 2*

14. Senatum ter legi.

*Aug. 35*

Senatorum affluentem numerum deformi et  
incondita turba . . . ad modum pristinum et  
splendorem redegit duabus lectionibus; etc.

*M.A. II, 2-11*

15. et in consulatu sexto census populi con-  
lega M. Agrippa egi. Lustrum post annum al-  
terum et quadragensimum fec[i]. Quo lustrum  
civium Romanorum censa sunt capita quadra-  
giens centum millia et sexag[i]nta tria millia.  
[lteru]m consulari cum imperio lustrum [s]olus  
feci C. Censorin[o et C.] Asinio cos. Quo lustrum  
censa sunt civium Romanoru[m capita] quadra-  
giens centum millia et ducenta triginta tria  
m[illia]. Tertiu]m consulari cum imperio lu-  
strum conlega Tib. Cae[sare filio feci] Sex.  
Pompeio et Sex. Appuleio cos. Quo lustrum  
ce[nsa sunt civium Ro]manorum capitum qua-  
dragiens centum mill[ia et nongenta tr]iginta  
et septem millia.

*Aug. 27*

Recepit et morum le-  
gumque regimen aequae  
perpetuum, quo iure,  
quamquam sine censurae  
honore census tamen  
populi ter egit: primum  
ac tertium cum collega,  
medium solus.

*M.A. II, 12-14*

16. Legibus novi[s la-  
tis complura e]xempla  
maiorum exolescentia iam  
ex nost[ro usu reduxi et  
ipse] multarum rer[um  
exe]mpla imitanda pos-  
s[teris tradidi].

*Aug. 24*

In re militari et commutavit multa et insti-  
tuit, atque etiam ad antiquum morem nonnulla  
revocavit.

*Aug. 31:* Nonnulla etiam ex antiquis caerimoniiis paulatim abolita restituit, ut, etc.  
*Aug. 34:* Leges retractavit, etc. *Aug. 40:* Etiam habitum vestitumque pristinum reducere studuit, etc. *Aug. 43:* Sed et Troiae lusum edidit . . . prisca decorique moris existimans.

*M.A. II, 23-28*

17. Pontif[ex] maximus ne fierem in vivi  
[e]onle[gae locum, populo id sace]rdotium  
deferente mihi, quod pater meu[s habuit, re-  
cusavi. Cepi id] sacerdotium aliquod post  
annos eo mor[tuo qui civilis motus, o]ccasione  
occupaverat, cuncta ex Italia, etc.

*Aug. 31*

Postquam vero pontifi-  
catum maximum, quem  
numquam vivo Lepido  
auferre sustinuerat, mor-  
tuo demum suscepit.



## M.A. II, 34-37

18. [Senatus consulto eodem tempore] pars [praetorum et tri]bunorum [plebi cum consule Q. Lucet]io et princi[pi]bus [viris ob]viam mihi mis[s]a e[st in Campan]ia[m, qui] honos [ad hoc tempus] nemini praeter [m]e es[t] decretus.

## Aug. 57

Revertentem ex provincia non solum faustis ominibus sed et modulatis carminibus prosequabantur.

## M.A. II, 42-45

19. [Ianum] Quirin[um, quem cl]aussum esse maiores nostri voluer[unt, [cum p]er totum i[m]perium po[puli Roma[ni terra mari]que es]set parta vic[torii]s pax, cum pr[ae]ius, quam] nasceret, [a condita] u[rb]e bis omnino clausum [f]uisse prodatur m[emori]ae, ter me princi[pe] senat[us] claudendum esse censui[t].

## Aug. 22

Ianum Quirinum, semel atque iterum a condita urbe ante memoriam suam clausum, in multo breviori temporis spatio terra marique pace parta ter clusit.

## M.A. II, 46-III, 1

20. Filios meos, quos iuv[enes mi]hi eripuit for[tuna, Gaium et Lucium Caesares honoris mei caussa, etc.

Cf. *Tib.* 23: Quoniam atrox fortuna Gaium et Lucium filios mihi eripuit. Cf. also *Aug.* 26.

## M.A. III, 7-21

21. Plebei Romanae viritim HS trecenos numeravi ex testamento patris mei, et nomine meo HS quadringenos ex bellorum manibiis consul quintum dedi, iterum autem in consulatu decimo ex [p]atrimonio meo HS quadringenos congiari viritim pernumer[a]vi, et consul undecimum duodecim frumentationes frumento pr[i]vatim coempto emensus sum, et tribunicia potestate duodecimum quadringenos nummos tertium viritim dedi. Quae mea congiaria p[er]venerunt ad [homi]num millia nunquam minus quinquaginta et ducenta. Tribu[nic]iae potestatis duodevicensimum consul XII trecentis et vigint[i] millibus plebis urbanae sexagenos denarios viritim dedi. In colon[i]s militum meorum consul quintum ex manibiis viritim millia nummum singula dedi; acceperunt id triumphale congiarium in colo[n]is hominum circiter centum et viginti millia. Consul tertium dec[i]mum sexagenos denarios plebei, quae tum frumentum publicum accipieba[t], dedi; ea millia hominum paullo plura quam ducenta fuerunt.

## Aug. 41

Congiaria populo frequenter dedit, sed diversae fere summae; modo quadringenos, modo trecenos, nonnumquam ducentos quinquagenosque (here Mommsen conjectures rather quadragenosque) nummos.

## Caes. 83

Viritim trecenos sester-tios legavit (Caesar).

*M.A. III, 35-39*

22. et M. Lep[i]do et L. Ar[r]unt[i]o cos. i[n] aerarium militare, quod ex consilio m[eo] co[n]stitut[um] est, ex [q]uo praemia darentur militibus, qui vicena [aut plu]ra sti[pendi]a emeruissent, HS milliens et septing[e]nti[ens] ex pa[t]rim[onio] [m]eo detuli.

*M.A. IV, 1-4*

23. Curiam et continens ei chalcidicum, templumque Apollinis in Palatio cum porticibus, . . . Lupercal, porticum ad Circum Flaminium, quam sum appellari passus ex nomine eius qui priorem eodem in solo fecerat, Octaviam, etc.

*M.A. IV, 12-16*

24. Forum Iulium et basilicam, quae fuit inter aedem Castoris et aedem Saturni, coepta profligataque opera a patre meo perfeci et eandem basilicam consumptam incendio ampliatio eius solo sub titulo nominis filiorum m[eorum] i[n]co[n]havi et, si vivus non perfecissem, perfici ab heredib[us] iussi].

*M.A. IV, 17, 18*

25. Duo et octoginta templa deum in urbe consul sext[um] ex decreto] senatus refeci, nullo praetermisso quod e[o] temp[ore] refici debebat].

*M.A. IV, 19*

26. Con[s]ul septimum viam Flaminiam a[b] urbe] Ari[mini]um feci.

*M.A. IV, 21, 22*

27. In privato solo Martis Ultoris templum [f]orumque Augustum [ex mani]biis feci.

*Aug. 49*

utque perpetuo ac sine difficultate sumptus ad tuendos eos prosequendosque suppeteret, aerarium militare cum vectigalibus novis constituit.

Cf. *Dio*, LV, 25.

*Aug. 29*

Publica opera plurima extruxit, e quibus vel praecipua: . . . templum Apollinis in Palatio, . . . Templum Apollinis in ea parte Palatinae domus excitavit . . .; addidit porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque. . . . Quaedam etiam opera sub nomine alieno, nepotum scilicet et uxoris sororisque, fecit, ut . . . porticus Liviae et Octaviae.

*Aug. 31*: Nonnulla etiam ex antiquis caerimoniis paulatim abolita restituit, . . . ut sacrum Lupercale.

*Aug. 29*

Quaedam etiam opera aut nomine alieno nepotum scilicet et uxoris sororisque fecit, ut porticum basilicamque Gai et Luci, . . .

*Aug. 30*

Aedes sacras vetustate conlapsas aut incendio absumptas refecit.

*Aug. 30*

desumpta sibi Flaminia via Arimino tenus munienda. (Cf. *C.I.L.* XI, 365.)

*Aug. 29*

Publica opera plurima extruxit, e quibus vel praecipua: Forum cum aede Martis Ultoris . . . Aedem Martis bello Philippensi, pro ultione paterna suscepto, voverat.

*M.A. IV, 22, 23*

28. Theatrum ad aede (*sic*) Apollinis in solo magna ex parte a p[r]i[v]atis empto feci, quod sub nomine M. Marcell[i] generi mei esset.

*Aug. 29*

Quaedam etiam opera sub nomine alieno, nepotum scilicet et uxoris sororisque, fecit; ut . . . theatrum Marcelli.

*M.A. IV, 23-26*

29. Don[a e]x manibiis in Capitolio et in aede divi Iu[li]i et in aede Apollinis et in aede Vestae et in templo Martis Ultoris consecravi, quae mihi constiterunt HS circiter miliens.

*Aug. 30*

Aedes sacras . . . refecit easque et ceteras opulentissimis donis adornavit, ut qui in cellam Capitolini Iovis sedecim milia pondo auri gemmasque ac margaritas quingenties sesteratii una donatione contulerit.

*M.A. IV, 33-35*

30. Bis [at]hletarum undique accitorum spec[ta]c[ul]um po[pulo] pra[e]bui meo] nomine et tertium nepo[tis] mei nomine.

*Aug. 43*

Athletas quoque (edit), exstructis in Campo Martio sedilibus ligneis.

*M.A. IV, 35, 36*

31. L[u]dos feci m[eo] no[m]i[n]e quater, aliorum autem m[agist]ratu[um] vicem ter et vicie[ns].

*Aug. 43*

Fecisse se ludos ait suo nomine quater, pro aliis magistratibus, qui aut abessent aut non sufficerent, ter et vicies.

*M.A. IV, 36, 37*

32. [Pr]o conlegio XV virorum magis[ter] conl[e]gi[i] colleg[a] M. Agrippa lud[os s]a[ecul]are]s C. Furnio C. [S]ilano cos. [feci].

*Aug. 31*

Nonnulla etiam ex antiquis caerimoniis . . . restituit, ut . . . ludos Saeculares.

*M.A. IV, 39-42*

33. [Ven]ati[o]n[es] best[ia]rum Africanarum meo nomine aut filio[rum] meorum et nepotum in ci[r]co aut [i]n foro aut in amphitheatris popul[o d]edi sexiens et viciens, quibus confecta sunt bestiarum circiter tria m[ill]ia et quingentae.

*Aug. 43*

[Circensibus ludis gladiatorisq[ue] muneribus frequentissime editis interiecit plerumque bestiarum Africanarum venationes, *ROTH* non in foro modo nec in amphitheatro, sed et in circo et in Saepthis . . . edidit.

*M.A. IV, 43-45*

34. Navalis proeli spectaculum populo de[di]tr[ans] Tiberim, in quo loco nunc nemus est Caesarum, cavato [solo] in longitudinem mille et octingentos pedes, in latitudine[m mille] e[t] ducenti.

*Aug. 43*

item navale proelium, circa Tiberim cavato solo, in quo nunc Caesarum nemus est.

*M.A. IV, 51-54*

35. Statuae [mea]e pedestres et equestres et in quadrigeis argenteae steterunt in urbe **XXC** circiter, quas ipse sustuli exque ea pecunia dona aurea in aede Apol[li]nis meo nomine et illorum, qui mihi statuarum honorem habuerunt, posui.

*M.A. V, 3, 4*

36. Iuravit in mea verba tota Italia sponte sua et me be[lli], quo vici ad Actium, ducem depoposcit.

*M.A. V, 10-12*

37. Gallias et Hispanias provicia[s (*sic*) et Germaniam qua inclu]dit oceanus a Gadibus ad ostium Albis flum[inis] pacavi.

*M.A. V, 12-14*

38. Alpes a re]gione ea, quae proxima est Hadriano mari, [ad Tuscum pacari fec]i nulli genti bello per iniuriam inlato.

*M.A. V, 24-27*

39. Armeniam maiorem interfecto rege eius Artaxe c[u]m possem facere provinciam, malui maiorum nostrorum exemplo regn[u]m id Tigrani regis Artavasdis filio, nepoti autem Tigranis regis, per T[i. Ne]ronem trad[er]e, qui tum mihi priv[ig]nus erat.

*M.A. V, 36-38*

40. Italia autem **XXVIII** [colo]nias, quae vivo me celeberrimae et frequentissimae fuerunt, me[is auspici]s deductas hab[et].

*M.A. V, 40-42*

41. Parthos trium exercitum (*sic*) Roman[o]rum spolia et signa re[d]dere] mihi supplicesque amicitiam populi Romani petere [coegi].

*M.A. V, 44-49*

42. Pannoniorum gentes, qua[s] a]nte me principem populi Romani exercitus nunquam ad[i]t, devictas per Ti. [Ne]ronem, qui tum erat pri-

*Aug. 52*

in urbe . . . atque etiam argenteas statuas olim sibi positas conflavit omnes exque iis aureas cortinas Apollini Palatino dedicavit.

*Aug. 17*

Bononiensibus quoque publice . . . gratiam fecit coniurandi cum tota Italia pro partibus suis.

*Aug. 21*

Germanosque ultra Al-  
bim fluvium summovit.

*Aug. 21*

Nec ulli genti sine iustis et necessariis causis bellum intulit.

*Tib. 9*

dein ducto ad Orientem exercitu, regnum Armeniae Tigrani restituit.

Cf. also *Aug. 48*.

*Aug. 46*

Italiam duodetriginta coloniarum numero, deductarum ab se, frequentavit.

*Aug. 21*

Parthi quoque . . . signa militaria, quae M. Crasso et M. Antonio ademerant, reposcenti reddiderunt obsidesque insuper optulerunt.

Cf. also *Tib. 9*.

*Tib. 16*

Ac perseverantiae grande premium tulit, toto Illyrico, quod inter Italiam regnumque Noricum et Thraciam et Macedoniam interque

vignus et legatus meus, imperio populi Romani s[ubieci] protulique fines Illyrici ad r[ip]am fluminis Dan[u]i, citr[a quod Dacorum tr]an[s]gressus exercitus meis a[u]s-p[icis] vict[us] profligatusque [est et postea tran]s Dan[u]vium ductus ex[ercitus me]u[s] Da[cor]um gentes im[peria] populi Romani perferre coegit].

*M.A. V, 50-52*

43. Ad me ex In[dia] regum legationes saepe missae sunt, numquam antea visae] apud qu[em]q[uam] R[omanorum du]cem. Nostram am[icitiam] petierunt] per legat[os] B[a]starn[ae Scythae]que et Sarmatarum q[ui], etc.

*M.A. VI, 9-12*

44. A me gentes Parthorum et Medoru[m] per legatos] principes earum gentium reges pet[i]tos acceperunt, Par[thi] Vononem regis Phr[atis] filium, regis Orod[is] nepotem; Medi Ar[iobarzanem], regis Artavazdis filium, regis Ariobarzanis nep[otem].

*M.A. VI, 13-15*

45. In consulatu sexto et septimo, b[ella] ubi civil]ia exstinxeram per consensum universorum [potitus rerum omn]ium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in senat[us] populi-que Romani a]rbitrium transtuli.

*M.A. VI, 16*

46. Quo pro merito meo senatu[s] consulto Aug. appe]llatus sum.

*M.A. VI, 24, 25*

47. Tertium dec[i-]mum consulatu[m] cum gerebam, senatus et equ[ester] ordo populus-q[ue] Romanus universus [appellavit me patrem] patriae.

Danuvium flumen et sinum maris Hadriatici patet, perdomito et in dicionem redacto.

*Aug. 21:* Coercuit et Dacorum incursiones, tribus eorum ducibus cum magna copia caesis.

*Aug. 21*

Qua virtutis moderationisque fama, Indos etiam ac Scythos, auditu modo cognitos, pellexit ad amicitiam suam populi-que Rom. ultro per legatos petendam.

*Aug. 21*

Parthi . . . denique, pluribus quondam de regno concertantibus, nonnisi ab ipso electum probaverunt.

*Aug. 28*

De reddenda re p. bis cogitavit: primum . . . ; ac rursus. . . . Sed reputans, et se privatum non sine periculo fore et illam plurium arbitrio temere committi, in retinenda perseveravit, dubium, eventu meliore an voluntate.

*Aug. 7*

Augusti cognomen assumpsit . . . Munati Planci sententia, etc.

*Aug. 58*

Patris patriae cognomen universi repentino maximoque consensu detulerunt ei: prima plebs, legatione Antium missa; dein, quia non recipiebat, ineunti Romae, spectacula frequens et laureata; mox in curia senatus, neque decreto neque adclamatione, sed per Valerium Messalam. Is mandantibus cunctis, etc.

The language<sup>1</sup> of *Aug.* 101 is strikingly similar to that of the heading of the Monumentum Ancyranum, and, because of this, Mommsen (*op. cit.* p. 1) asserts *Apparet Suetonium ipsam commentarii inscriptionem in mente habuisse, cum haec scripsit.* But if we compare the words of Suetonius with the heading of the inscription *which stood in Rome*, before the Mausoleum of Augustus, we shall find that in reality there are only *four* words common to both, namely, *rerum a se gestarum*. For the heading in Rome, as seems most probable, and as Mommsen himself suggests (p. 2), ran as follows: *Res gestae divi Augusti, quibus orbem terrarum imperio populi Romani subiecit, et impensae, quas in rem publicam populumque Romanum fecit.*<sup>2</sup> But I cannot believe that the historian copied the heading of the inscription that was set up in Rome, and then, after the examination of this evidence alone, wrote the passage in *Aug.* 101 above quoted. My reason lies in his own words, *quem vellet incidi in aeneis tabulis, quae ante Mausoleum statuerentur*, which clearly point to some document written before the inscription was cut, and, in fact, directing the making and setting up of it; they seem to me to refer to the *volumen*, or, at any rate, to a copy of it, which was prepared by Augustus and deposited with the Vestal Virgins, by whom it was made public after the Emperor's death (*Aug.* 101). This document may very well have been inscribed *Index rerum a me gestarum quem volo incidi in aeneis tabulis quae ante Mausoleum statuuntur*. The opinion that Suetonius's source in writing the passage under discussion was either this *volumen*, or a copy of it, has been held also by O. Clason,<sup>3</sup> by J. Schmidt,<sup>4</sup> and by Cantarelli.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the words of Dio LVI, 33, whose source seems to be Suetonius: τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἔπραξε πάντα ἃ καὶ ἐς χαλκᾶς στήλας πρὸς τῷ ἡρώῳ αὐτοῦ σταθεῖσας ἀναγραφῆναι ἐκέλευσε.

<sup>2</sup> On the wording of the title of the original inscription, cf. the articles of J. Schmidt, *Philologus*, XLIV, pp. 442 ff., XLV, pp. 393 ff., XLVI, pp. 70 ff.; of E. Bormann, *Rektorsprogr. der Marburger Univ.*, 1884; O. Hirschfeld, *Wiener Studien*, 1885, pp. 170 ff.; Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Hermes*, XXI, pp. 623 ff.; Wölfflin, *Sitzungsb. d. Münch. Acad.*, 1886, pp. 253 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Tacitus und Sueton*, Breslau, 1870, p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> *Philologus*, XLV, pp. 402, 403.

<sup>5</sup> *Bull. del. Com. Arch.* XVII, pp. 64 f.

The latter, moreover, doubts that the document could have been inscribed *Index rerum a me gestarum*, etc., since this is too specific an expression. He says "mi fa suporre che, nel testamento o nei *mandata de funere* egli abbia usato, per manifestare la sua ultima volontà, rispetto allo scritto da lui composto, non un termine speciale come quello che troviamo in Suetonio, ma una espressione generica, indeterminata, simile a questa: quae scripsi altero volumine volo incidi in duobus aeneis tabulis quae ante Mausoleum statuuntur." Some such expression as *Divi Augusti index rerum a se gestarum*, Cantarelli thinks, was incorporated in the heading by the heirs of Augustus. Nissen conjectures<sup>1</sup> that possibly copies of the original *volumen*, or of the inscription itself, were in general circulation, entitled *Divi Augusti index rerum a se gestarum*, and that one of these came into the hands of Suetonius.<sup>2</sup> Mommsen indeed says: "Indice ita Romae publice proposito, quem et auctoritas et brevis commendaret, non mirum est usos esse rerum scriptores, quorum ex iis qui extant notitiam eius habuerunt Velleius et Suetonius . . . Libelli forma indicem publice editum esse testatum non habemus; et Velleius quidem Suetoniusque fieri potest ut eum legerint in ipso aere, neque grammatici eum citant. At cum ii citent testamentum, probabile est indicem quoque hominibus doctis aetatis posterioris in manibus fuisse" (p. ix), "Apparet Suetonium ipsam commentarii inscriptionem in mente habuisse" (p. 1), "indicem videlicet secutus" (p. 50), "Haec ex ipso indice citat Suetonius" (p. 91). Apparently he maintains that the historian used the *Index* alone in his account, but in a later article<sup>3</sup> his views are more clearly expressed: "Die Worte Suetons scheinen auch nach ihrer Fassung nicht aus der Denkschrift, sondern aus der die Aufstellung anordnenden Verfügung entnommen zu sein und diese in indirecter Rede anzuführen." He continues:

<sup>1</sup> *Rhein. Mus.* XLI, p. 492.

<sup>2</sup> See *l.c.* p. 497 (*fn.*), "Sueton muss eine Abschrift der Aufzeichnung am Mausoleum vor sich gehabt haben."

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. Zeit.* 1887, LVII, pp. 391 ff.

“Ist dies der Fall, so bezeichnete der Kaiser selbst die Denkschrift als ‘indicem rerum a se gestarum’ und sollte selbst diese Wortfassung von Sueton herrühren, so ist es, auch von ihm abgesehen, mehr als wahrscheinlich, dass der Titel, wie wir ihn lesen, an die in jener Anordnung gebrauchte Bezeichnung sich angeschlossen hat.” Finally, it needs to be noticed that in the passage in Suetonius the following words do not occur: “quibus orbem terrarum imperio populi Romani subiecit, et impensae, quas in rem publicam populumque Romanum fecit.” These words were probably not inscribed upon the *volumen* prepared by Augustus, but were, rather, added later by Tiberius, when the inscription itself was cut.<sup>1</sup>

That all these *volumina* were opened in the Senate and read by Drusus we learn from Dio Cassius, LVI, 33, Tac. *Ann.* I, 8, Suet. *Aug.* 101; that they were then treasured up in some of the public archives, where Suetonius could have consulted them, is very probable; finally that Suetonius had access to various private documents of this nature, we may conjecture from several passages, *Aug.* 50, 71, 87 (2) (see below, p. 44); besides, from Spart. 12. 3, we know that Suetonius held the important post of *epistularum magister* under the Emperor Hadrian.

Some passages in Suetonius correspond to the inscription, but with varying closeness.

(1) The correspondence is sometimes almost word for word; for example,

*Aug.* 27, Recepit . . . perpetuum, and  
*M.A.* Gr. III, 14–19, τῆς [τε σ]υνκλήτου . . . ἀνεδεξάμην (but see below, p. 42)  
 (see no. 11, in the table of parallel passages);

*Aug.* 27, Triumviratum . . . administravit, and  
*M.A.* Gr. IV, 1, 2, τριῶν ἀνδρῶν . . . δέκα (see no. 13);

*Aug.* 43, Fecisse . . . vicies, and  
*M.A.* IV, 35, 36, L[u]dos . . . vicie[ns] (see no. 31);

*Aug.* 43, item navale . . . nemus est, and  
*M.A.* IV, 43–45, Navalis . . . ducent (see no. 34).

<sup>1</sup> This is called into question by Geppert, *Zum Monumentum Ancyranum*, Prog. d. Berl. Gymn. zum Grauen Kloster. Berol. 1887, p. 12.



Three conjectures may be made to explain these close resemblances. Suetonius's source in these passages was either (1) the inscription itself inscribed upon the bronze tablets, or (2) some earlier historian who had copied it or the original document, or (3) that original *volumen* (or a copy of it), the heading of which (as we have seen, pp. 38 ff.) Suetonius was probably thinking of, when he wrote *Aug.* 101, *indicem rerum a se gestarum*, etc. The third conjecture seems to me by far the most probable.

The words *qui aut abessent aut non sufficerent* of *Aug.* 43, or language of similar content, are not transmitted by the *Mon. Anc.* One wonders whether this phrase was not in the original document prepared by Augustus, but was omitted, as being unnecessary, from the final revision made by Tiberius before the inscription was cut. Possibly, however, it was taken by Suetonius from some other source.

(2) The correspondence manifests itself in a striking similarity of language :

- Aug.* 22, *Bis ovans . . . triduo omnes, and*  
*M.A.* I, 21, 22, *Bis] ovans . . . triumphos*<sup>1</sup> (see no. 6);  
*Aug.* 43, *non in foro . . . edidit,*<sup>2</sup> *and*  
*M.A.* IV, 39-42, *[Ven]ati[o]n[es] . . . quingentæ* (see no. 33);  
*Aug.* 21, *nec . . . intulit, and*  
*M.A.* V, 12-14, *Alpes . . . inlato* (see no. 38);  
*Aug.* 46, *Italiam . . . frequentavit, and*  
*M.A.* V, 36-38, *Italia . . . hab[et]* (see no. 40).

(3) The correspondence is seen in excerpts, at times quite full :

- Aug.* 27, *Recepit et morum . . . solus, and*  
*M.A.* II, 2-11, *et in consulatu . . . septem millia*<sup>3</sup> (see no. 15);

<sup>1</sup> But compare the very similar manner of expression in *Tib.* 9, *Et ovans et curru urbem ingressus est*; *Cal.* 49, *ovans urbem . . . ingressus est*; *Oros.* 6. 18, *ovans urbem ingressus*; *Livy, Ep.* 133, *tres triumphos egit*. Besides, the additional matter given in the passage of Suetonius permits us to think of other sources as well. Cf. the *acta triumphorum* of the years 40 and 36 B.C. (*C.I.L.* I<sup>2</sup>, p. 180), which Suetonius does not seem to have examined.

<sup>2</sup> *Et in saeptis* is clearly from some other source. Cf. *Cal.* 18.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gardthausen, *Augustus*, II, 2, pp. 531 f.

- Aug.* 31, Postquam vero . . . suscepit, *and*  
*M.A.* II, 23–28, Pontif]ex . . . occupaverat (see no. 17);
- Aug.* 22, Ianum Quirinum . . . clusit, *and*  
*M.A.* II, 42–45, [Ianum] Quirin[um] . . . censui[t] (see no. 19);
- Aug.* 41, Congiaria . . . nummos,<sup>1</sup>  
*Caes.* 83, viritim . . . legavit, *and*  
*M.A.* III, 7–21, Plebei Romanae . . . ducenta fuerunt (see no. 21);
- Aug.* 49, utque perpetuo . . . constituit, *and*  
*M.A.* III, 35–39, et M. Lep[i]do . . . detuli (see no. 22);
- Aug.* 29, Quaedam etiam opera . . . Gai et Luci, *and*  
*M.A.* IV, 12–16, Forum Iulium . . . heredib[us iussi]<sup>2</sup> (see no. 24);
- Aug.* 52, in urbe . . . dedicavit, *and*  
*M.A.* IV, 51–54, statuae . . . posui (see no. 35);
- Aug.* 21, Germanosque . . . summovit, *and*  
*M.A.* V, 10–12, Gallias . . . pacavi (see no. 37);
- Aug.* 21, Parthi . . . probaverunt, *and*  
*M.A.* VI, 9–12, A me gentes Parthorum . . . nep[otem] (see no. 44).

In the following passages, the statements of Suetonius differ from<sup>3</sup> those of the inscription :

- Aug.* 27, Recepit . . . perpetuum, *and*  
*M.A.* Gr. III, 14–19, τῆς [τε σ]υνκλήτου . . . ἀνεδεξάμην (v. above, p. 40,  
 Mommsen, pp. 28, 29, and Gardthausen, *Augustus* II, 2, pp. 521, 522)  
 (see no. 11);
- Aug.* 27, Tribuniciam . . . cooptavit, *and*  
*M.A.* Gr. III, 19–23, ἀ δὲ τότε . . . [ἐλ]αβον (see Mommsen, p. 31) (see no. 12);
- Aug.* 35, Senatorum . . . lectionibus, *and*  
*M.A.* II, 1, 2, Senatum ter legi (Mommsen, pp. 35, 36) (see no. 14);
- Aug.* 29, Quaedam etiam opera . . . Octaviae, *and*  
*M.A.* IV, 2–4, porticum . . . Octaviam (Mommsen, p. 80; Festus, p. 178,  
 speaks of these two porticus) (see no. 23);

<sup>1</sup> Here again Suetonius records information that is not found in the inscription; for, independently of the latter, he makes mention of the amounts of two hundred, and of fifty (Mommsen, p. 60, proposes the reading *quadragenosque*) sestertii, gifts of Augustus to the people; on the other hand, he says nothing about the sixty denarii, which, according to the *Mon. Anc.*, Augustus gave to each of the plebs.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., in general, all of *Aug.* 29, 30, 31, and *M.A.* IV, 1–26 (see nos. 23–29), *curiam et continens* . . . *circiter milliens*. In the case of some of these buildings, Suetonius knew of their being constructed or restored by Augustus, very likely from an examination of their dedicatory inscriptions.

<sup>3</sup> Some discrepancies are noted also by Egger (*op. cit.* pp. 271, 272).

*Aug.* 28, *De reddenda . . . voluntate, and*

*M.A.* VI, 13-15, *In consulatu sexto . . . transtuli* (Mommsen, p. 146) (see no. 24).

Suetonius makes no reference whatever to some subjects that are treated fully in the *Mon. Anc.*, e. g. the number of soldiers and ships captured (*M.A.* I, 16-20), the priestly offices of the Emperor (*M.A.* I, 45, 46), the vows undertaken (II, 15-20), the altar of Fortuna Redux (II, 29-33), the altar of Pax Augusta (II, 37-41), the rewards of the veterans (III, 22-33), the aqueducts (IV, 10-12), the clearing of the sea from pirates (V, 1-3), and the fleet (V, 14-23). As regards the other passages of Suetonius, although their context is similar to that of the *Mon. Anc.*, yet the language of the former is not such that we can assume that they depend directly upon the inscription.

A study of the parallel column above at once directs attention to the noteworthy fact that all the close resemblances in the text of the historian to the *Mon. Anc.* IV, 1-26 (see nos. 23-29), occur in two consecutive<sup>1</sup> chapters, *Aug.* 29, 30. Suetonius seems, at one time, to have made brief notes in a summary manner, as when he says, *Quaedam etiam opera sub nomine alieno, nepotum scilicet et uxoris sororisque fecit, ut*, etc.; at another time, to have added other interesting matter, taken from another source, e. g. the reasons for building the temple of Mars Ultor, and for constructing the Forum Augusti; and how it happened that Augustus consecrated the temple of Jupiter Tonans.

It is worthy of note, also, that what is said about the Gauls is transmitted in consecutive text by both Suetonius (*Aug.* 43) and the *Mon. Anc.* (IV, 33-48) (see nos. 30-34), as well as the relations of Augustus with the barbaric nations (*Aug.* 21; *M.A.* V, 9-VI, 12) (see nos. 37-44).

From all this the conclusion may be drawn that we are in no

<sup>1</sup> Nissen (*l.c.*) has tried to show that Suetonius's whole scheme of arranging his material for the life of Augustus depends upon the *Mon. Anc.* C. Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1895), p. 685, n. 2, is not convinced of the truth of Nissen's theory.

way authorized by the resemblances that plainly exist between the text of Suetonius and the *Mon. Anc.* to affirm that the historian read the inscription *in ipso aere*; on the other hand, from what Suetonius says regarding the original *volumen* (*Aug.* 101; cf. above, pp. 38 ff.), we may rather suppose that he consulted *only* this document, or a copy of it, and that from this he made all the extracts above cited.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the will of Augustus, and the *volumina* prepared by him (*Aug.* 101, *Tib.* 23), Suetonius was acquainted with the wills of Julius Caesar (*Caes.* 83) and of Tiberius (*Tib.* 76).

Finally, he not only made use of many letters of the Emperors (see above, p. 28), but had access even to certain autograph letters of Augustus. In *Aug.* 87, he reports certain peculiarities, which *litterae ipsius autographicae ostendant*; <sup>2</sup> and below he says, *Notavi et in chirographo eius illa praecipue: non dividit verba nec ab extrema parte versuum abundantis litteras in alterum transfert, sed ibidem statim subicit circumducitque*. In *ibid.* 88 he discusses the orthography of Augustus. We may compare also *ibid.* 71, *autographa quadam epistula . . . ait*.<sup>3</sup>

The remaining passages will be treated under the following heads: (1) Passages that seem to refer to inscriptions actually examined by Suetonius; (2) Passages referring to inscriptions that Suetonius may very likely have examined; (3) Passages referring to inscriptions that, in all probability, were not examined by Suetonius personally; (4) Passages referring in a general way to inscriptions themselves, or to

<sup>1</sup> If the two other *volumina* (*Aug.* 101) were extant, we might possibly find that Suetonius had made use of these, too, as sources.

<sup>2</sup> On the word *domos*, used by Augustus in the genitive case for *domus*, cf. Ritschl, *Opusc.* IV, p. 169, and Lindsay, *Latin Language*, pp. 380, 384; on *simus* for *sumus*, cf. *C.I.L.* IX, 3473, l. 14, and Lindsay, *L.L.*, p. 29. Compare Quint. *Inst. Orat.* 1, 6, 19 and 1, 7, 22, for other orthographical peculiarities in the letters of Augustus. His style, *neque praepositiones urbibus addere neque coniunctiones saepius iterare dubitavit*; etc. (*Aug.* 86), and other peculiarities of diction are discussed with reference to the *Mon. Anc.* by Wölfflin, *Sitzungsb. d. kön. bayr. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, 1896, II, pp. 162 f., 174-176, 178, 180.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Nero 52, *Venere in manus meas pugillares libellique cum quibusdam notissimis versibus ipsius chirographo scriptis . . . ; ita multa et ætela et inducia et superscripta inerant*.

monuments often inscribed; (5) Passages that exhibit a resemblance to existing inscriptions; (6) Miscellaneous references; (7) The Cognomina and Titles of the Emperors, occurring in Suetonius's narrative, as confirmed by the inscriptions.

# I. PASSAGES THAT SEEM TO REFER TO INSCRIPTIONS ACTUALLY EXAMINED BY SUETONIUS

## (a) SPECIFIC REFERENCE

### *Augustus, 7*

Infanti cognomen Thurino inditum est, in memoriam maiorum originis, vel quod regione Thurina recens eo nato pater Octavius adversus fugitivos rem prospere gesserat. Thurinum cognominatum satis certa probatione tradiderim, nactus puerilem imagunculam eius aeream veterem, ferreis et paene iam exolescentibus litteris hoc nomine inscriptam, quae dono a me principi data inter cubiculi Lares colitur.

The *imaguncula* may have been a very small image of the youthful Octavius, of the kind often noted to-day in modern museums of antiquities. Of the two reasons which Suetonius advances to explain this cognomen, the first, *in memoriam maiorum originis*, must be rejected, because from no source do we learn that the Octavian *gens* came originally from Thurii, or its vicinity. But, on the contrary, we are told by Dio Cassius (XLV, 1), and by Suetonius himself (*Aug.* 1), that the Octavii were natives of Velitrae.<sup>1</sup> The second conjecture is much more plausible. It is well known (App. *B.C.* I, 117; Flor. III, 20, 5; cf. also Suet. *Aug.* 3) that Spartacus took possession of Thurii in 72 B.C., and that the remnant of the famous gladiator's band was destroyed by Cn. Octavius, the father of Augustus, while he was on his way to his provincial post in Macedonia,<sup>2</sup> that is, in 60 B.C., when his son was three years old. That Augustus bore this cognomen is known only from this passage in Suetonius, where the statement is based on three separate grounds, — (1) the *imaguncula* itself, (2) certain let-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gardthausen, *Augustus*, I, 1, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the inscription of Octavius, *C.I.L.* VI, 1311<sup>b</sup>.

ters of M. Antonius, (3) certain letters written by Augustus in reply to Antonius. These letters, of course, have not come down to us.

Thurinus was not, however, a cognomen, properly speaking, as Suetonius seems to have regarded it, but Augustus, if he had this title in his earlier days, took it doubtless from his father, who earned it as 'cognomen ex virtute.' Other examples could be cited of similar cognomina, won by father and assumed by son. The two sons of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus the elder were named: the one, L. Cornelius Scipio Africanus; the other, L. (or Cn.) Cornelius Scipio Africanus (cf. Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, p. 16, n. 6). The cognomen Thurinus was not, at any rate, a permanent one of the Octavian *gens*, and was applied by Antonius to Augustus, rather as a term of abuse, as if he were provincial and boorish (*Aug.* 7).<sup>1</sup> In no inscription preserved to us is the cognomen Thurinus applied either to Augustus or to any member of the Octavian family.

Inscriptions upon *imagunculae* that have come down to us indicate the name, not of the person represented, but of the manufacturer, e. g. *C.I.L.* X, 5689. Possibly the letters in this particular *imaguncula* of Octavius were not sufficiently well understood by Suetonius, since he remarks upon their character, *paene iam exolescentibus litteris*. At any rate, the image was revered as that of the youthful Octavius because *inter cubiculi (principis) Lares colitur*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So, too, the cognomen Aricina was applied in the same abusive way to Atia, mother of Augustus, *Cic. Phil.* III, vi, 15, where Cicero's reply reveals the meaning of the cognomen. Compare also *Cal.* 23, *Liviam Augustam . . . ignobilitatis . . . arguere ausus est, quasi materno avo decurione Fundano ortam*. Concerning the cognomen Thurinus, Drumann (*Geschichte Roms*, IV, p. 234) thinks that perhaps earlier in life Octavius, or his *gens*, placed a great deal of importance upon the achievement in the Thuringian district, and so assumed Thurinus as a 'cognomen ex virtute'; but that afterwards, when it was abandoned, the cognomen was applied to the members of the *gens* as a term of ridicule and abuse. Octavianus was called also *Kαίριος*, according to Dio Cass. XLV, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the note of Casaubon (ed. Wolf), III, pp. 239, 240, "Quod in litteris eius *imagunculae* quam commemorat Suetonius non magis fieri poterat quam caelaturae aureae in iis operibus quae hodie vocamus Damascena"; cf. Dio Cass.

## (b) MORE GENERAL REFERENCE

*Tiberius*, 5

Tiberium, quidam Fundis natum existimaverunt, secuti levem coniecturam, quod materna eius avia Fundana fuerit, et quod mox simulacrum Felicitatis ex S. C. publicatum ibi sit. Sed ut plures certioresque tradunt, natus est Romae in Palatio XVI. Kal. Dec. M. Aemilio Lepido iterum, L. Munatio Planco cons. per bellum Philippense. Sic enim in fastos actaque in publica relatum est.

Just what is meant by *fasti* here is not at once apparent, since the ancients used this term of various kinds of records. At first, those days were called *fasti* on which it was permitted *fari apud praetorem*; then it came to mean the series or sequence of *dies fasti*, in other words, the calendar; and finally, as belonging to, or forming a part of, the calendar, the *fasti* came to mean the consecutive series or records of the consuls; or also the records of different priestly offices (Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, III<sup>2</sup>, pp. 300, 301). The testimony of the passage of Suetonius in question is confirmed by the *Fasti Anni Iuliani*. Appended to the date of November 16 (XVI, k. Dec.), we read (*C.I.L.* I<sup>2</sup>, p. 335) *Natales Ti. Caesaris*, FER. CVM; *Ti. Aug(usti) Natal(is)*, ANT.<sup>1</sup> Suetonius seems to have been familiar with *fasti* of this class, for he speaks (*de Ill. Gram.* 17), of the *fasti* at Praeneste, as *marmoreo pariete incisos* (see *C.I.L.* I<sup>2</sup>, p. 230). But it needs to be noted that Suetonius, in the passage in question, has quoted the *fasti* for the purpose of corroborating the account of the place where

XLIV, 7. On the cognomina, etc., of Augustus, see Weichert, *Imp. Caes. Aug. scriptorum reliquiae*, pp. 61 ff.

<sup>1</sup> The birthdays of other emperors as recorded (*Aug.* 5, *Cal.* 8, *Claud.* 2) by Suetonius agree with the *Fasti*; but the historian does not indicate the source of his information. On the other hand, the day on which Drusus, the son of Tiberius, was born, is not mentioned (*Tib.* 7), or the day on which Agrippa was born (*Cal.* 7), or the day when Augustus assumed the *toga virilis* (*Aug.* 8), although the information could have been gained by an examination of the *Fasti*. Finally, when Suetonius treats of subjects mentioned also by the *Fasti*, his language is not such as would lead us to believe that the latter were his source of information. Compare, for example, *Aug.* 31, and the *Fasti pr. non. Mart.*, concerning the office of pontifex maximus; *Tib.* 2, and the *Fasti pr. non. Apr.*, concerning the introduction into Rome of the worship of the Magna Mater; *Tib.* 25, and the *Fasti id. Sept.*, concerning the impious designs of M. Libo.

Tiberius was born. Baumgarten-Crusius (*l.c.* p. 267) considers the -que ἐξηγητικόν, for “fasti sunt pars actorum publicorum.”

*Caligula*, 23

Livium Augustam proaviam, Ulixem stolatum identidem appellans, etiam ignobilitatis quadam ad senatum epistula arguere ausus est, quasi materno avo decurione Fundano ortam; cum publicis monumentis certum sit, Aufidium Lurconem [*Mss.* Lyrgonem] Romae honoribus functum.

As a matter of fact, the nomen of Livia's grandfather on her mother's side was *Alfidius*, not *Aufidius*. See *C.I.L.* IX, 3661, ALFIDIA M. F. MATER AUGUSTAE; *ibid.* II, 1667, ALFIDIAE MAT. AUGUSTAE; *Bull. de l'école française d'Athènes*, 1868-71, p. 231, ὁ δῆμος | Ἀλφιδίαν τὴν μητέρα θεᾶς Ἰουλίας | Σεβαστ[ῆ]ς, etc. For an explanation of the discrepancy, see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Ency.*, under *Aufidius Lurco*. The confusion between *Alfidius* and *Aufidius* suggests that there may have been a close resemblance in the vulgar pronunciation.

*Claudius*, 41

Novas etiam commentus est litteras tres, ac numero veterum quasi maxime necessarias addidit; de quarum ratione cum privatus adhuc volumen edidisset, mox princeps non difficulter optinuit ut in usu quoque promiscuo essent. Extat talis scriptura in plerisque libris ac diurnis titulisque operum.

These so-called Claudian letters are discussed by Corssen, *Aussprache d. Lat. Sprache*, I, pp. 26 f., and by Bücheler, *De Ti. Claudio Grammatico*, Elberfeld, 1856. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* XI, 14. There is abundant epigraphical evidence for the character ɹ to represent consonantal *u* (*e.g.* *C.I.L.* VI, 355, 2034, etc.), and for the character ʃ to represent the sound midway between *i* and *u* (*e.g.* the well-known inscription in the Capitoline Museum, *C.I.L.* VI, 553). No certain example exists of the letter ɔ, to represent the sound of the Greek letter Ψ.

## II. PASSAGES REFERRING TO INSCRIPTIONS THAT SUE- TONIUS MAY VERY LIKELY HAVE EXAMINED

*Caesar*, 85

(Plebs) postea solidam columnam prope viginti pedum lapidis Numidici in foro statuit scripsitque: Parenti Patriae. Apud eam longo tempore sacrificare, vota suscipere, controversias quasdam interposito per Caesarem iure iurando distrahere perseveravit.



Whether this column was still anywhere to be seen in Suetonius's time, we do not know. The last sentence, *Apud eam . . . perseveravit*, seems to point towards the hypothesis that the plebs had ceased to offer sacrifice, to make vows, etc., in the presence of the column. From a reference of Cicero (*ad Att.* XIV, 15, 2) it would appear that the column had been removed, but it may have been preserved.<sup>1</sup> The inscription is worded differently *Cic. ad Fam.* XII, 3, *Parenti optimo merito*.

*Caligula, 15*

De sororibus auctor fuit, ut omnibus sacramentis adiceretur: *neque me liberosque meos cariores habeo quam Gaium habeo et sorores eius*; item relationibus consulum: *quod bonum felixque sit C. Caesari sororibusque eius*.

The formula, *neque me liberosque meos cariores habeo quam Gaium habeo et sorores eius*, has, so far as I know, no inscriptional authority. But *quod bonum felixque sit C. Caesari sororibusque eius* was proposed by Mommsen (*Eph. Epig.* V, p. 158), as a conjectural restoration of the mutilated passage in the Acta of the Fratres Arvales. It was restored differently by Henzen (*C.I.L.* VI, 2028<sup>b</sup> = ed. Henzen, p. xlii). On the oath taken in the name of the Emperor Caligula, see, in general, *Eph. Epig.* V, pp. 154 f. Cf. Dio Cass. LIX, 3.

*Caligula, 24*

Tres gladios in necem suam praeparatos Marti Ultori, addito elogio, consecravit.

*Caligula, 41*

Eius modi vectigalibus indictis neque propositis, cum per ignorantiam scripturae multa commissa fierent, tandem flagitante populo proposuit quidem legem, sed et minutissimis litteris et angustissimo loco, uti ne cui describere liceret.

*Claudius, 1*

Nec contentus elogium tumulo eius (Drusi) versibus a se compositis insculpsisse, etiam vitae memoriam prosa oratione composuit.

One wonders if Suetonius did not make use of this *elogium* in writing the first chapter of the life of Claudius. Perhaps,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Baumgarten-Crusius, I, p. 155, *sed potuit manere loco, ubi fuerat columna, sanctitas quaedam, donec Augustus, teste Appiano, templum ibi extruxit*.

however, the words *versibus a se compositis* should lead us to infer that Suetonius's source for his statement was purely literary. Similar elogia were, very likely, those of L. and C. Caesar (*C.I.L.* VI, 894, 895).

*Nero, 10*

Recitavit et carmina, non modo domi sed et in theatro, tanta universorum laetitia, ut ob recitationem supplicatio decreta sit, eaque pars carminum aureis litteris Iovi Capitolino dicata.

An *oratio* inscribed upon a silver column is reported by Xiphilinus, LXI, 3. Dio Cassius (XLIV, 7) states that a decree, passed as a mark of honor to Caesar, was inscribed in gilt letters upon a silver pillar.

*Galba, 2*

Neroni Galba successit nullo gradu contingens Caesarum domum, sed haud dubie nobilissimus magnaue et vetere prosapia, ut qui statuarum titulis pronepotem se Quinti Catuli Capitolini semper ascripserit.

Q. Lutatius Catulus, cos. 78 B.C. (*C.I.L.* VI, 1314), well known as a firm supporter of Cicero in suppressing the conspiracy of Catiline, won the cognomen Capitolinus by his dedication of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, destroyed by fire in 83 B.C. (Tac. *Hist.* 3, 72). No inscription is extant in which Galba is called *pronepos* of Catulus.<sup>1</sup> Cp. Plut. *Galba*, 3.

*Vitellius, 3*

Defunctum (L. Vitellium, Imp. A. Vitelli patrum) senatus publico funere honoravit, item statua pro rostris cum hac inscriptione: pietatis immobilis erga principem.

No such inscription is extant, or is mentioned by Tacitus.

*Vespasianus, 1*

Locus etiam ad sextum miliarium a Nursia Spoletium euntibus in monte summo appellatur Vespasiae, ubi Vespasiorum complura monumenta extant, magnum indicium splendoris familiae et vestutatis.

This refers, I think, rather to buildings, etc., that the Vespasii had constructed than to tituli. See the notes on *C.I.L.* IX, 4541.

<sup>1</sup> Popillia, the mother of Catulus, had, as second husband, L. Iulius Caesar, the grandfather of L. Iulius Caesar who was consul in 90 B.C.

*Domitianus*, 5, 13

Plurima et amplissima opera incendio absumpta restituit, in quis et Capitolium, quod rursus arserat; sed omnia sub titulo tantum suo ac sine ulla pristini auctoris memoria.

Ianos arcusque cum quadrigis et insignibus triumphorum per regiones urbis tantos ac tot extruxit, ut cuidam Graece inscriptum sit: *arci*.

The text in the latter passage is not sound (see Roth, ed. Suet. p. 1), a condition no doubt due to the similarity of the word *arci* (ἀρκεί) to *arcus*. We should probably understand from this passage, however, that *arci* was not cut upon the public monument as an inscription, but was rather simply written or scratched upon it.

### III. PASSAGES REFERRING TO INSCRIPTIONS THAT, IN ALL PROBABILITY, WERE NOT EXAMINED BY SUETONIUS PERSONALLY

*Caesar*, 80

Subscripsere quidam Luci Bruti statuæ: Utinam viveres!

This, again, was rather written than cut on the base of the statue. There exists, to be sure, an inscription worded thus, but it has been shown to be false, *C.I.L.* VI, Part V, \*1<sup>m</sup>. Cf. Plut. *Brut.* 9.

*Caesar*, 81

Paucos ante menses, cum in colonia Capua deducti lege Iulia coloni ad extruendas villas vetustissima sepulchra dissicerent, idque eo studiosius facerent, quod aliquantum vasculorum operis antiqui scrutantes reperiebant, tabula aenea in monumento, in quo dicebatur Capys conditor Capuae sepultus, inventa est, conscripta litteris verbisque Graecis hac sententia, *Quandoque ossa Capyis detecta essent, fore ut Iulo prognatus manu consanguineorum necaretur magnisque mox Italiae cladibus vindicaretur*. Cuius rei, ne quis fabulosam aut commenticiam putet, auctor est Cornelius Balbus, familiarissimus Caesaris.

Such an inscription, of course, hardly existed, though there is no good reason to doubt that ancient tombs were found, in which there might have been some inscribed objects. Cf. *C.I.L.* X, p. 365: "Sed, ut par est, non magis defuerunt, qui clarae urbi Troianum quendam Capyn conditorem adsererent eumque cum domo ea quae Romam condidisse fertur aliqua ratione coniunctum, in qua opinione et antiquissimus Hecataeus fuisse

dicitur (fr. 27 Muell.) et posteriores complures (Coelius, *apud Servium ad Aen.* 10; Ovidius, *fast.* 4, 45; Dionys. I, 73; Suetonius, *Caes.* 81; *al.*).” It should be noted that the inscription is quoted in indirect discourse, and that Suetonius, by his last statement, *cuius rei . . . Caesaris*, implies that the truthfulness of the account had been questioned.

*Augustus, 12*

Et quo magis paenitentiam prioris sectae approbaret, Nursinos grandi pecunia et quam pendere nequirent multatos extorres oppido egit, quod Mutinensi acie interemptorum civium tumulto publice extracto ascripserant, pro libertate eos occubuisse.

*Caligula, 8*

(Plinius) addit etiam pro argumento, aras ibi ostendi inscriptas: ob Agrippinae puerperium . . . Nec Plini opinionem inscriptio arae quicquam adiuverit, cum Agrippina bis in ea regione filias enixa sit, et qualiscumque partus sine ullo sexus discrimine puerperium vocetur, quod antiqui etiam puellas pueras, sicut et pueros puellios dictitarent.

The inscription has never been found. See below, pp. 58 ff.

*Nero, 41*

Leviterque modo in itinere frivolo auspicio mente recreata, cum adnotasset insculptum monumento militem Gallum ab equite R. oppressum trahi crinibus, ad eam speciem exiluit gaudio caelumque adoravit.

*Nero, 45*

Statuae eius a vertice cirrus appositus est cum inscriptione Graeca, *nunc demum agona esse, et traderet tandem!* Alterius collo ascopera deligata, simulque titulus: *Ego quid potui? sed tu culleum meruisti.* Ascriptum et columnis, iam Gallos eum cantando excitasse.

These inscriptions, as the context shows, were written, and not of a permanent character.

*Nero, 47*

Duos scyphos gratissimi usus, quos Homeros a caelatura carminum Homeri vocabat, solo inlisit.

*Vitellius, 10*

Pari vanitate atque insolentia lapidem memoriae Othonis inscriptum intuens, *dignum eo Mausoleo* ait, pugionemque, quo is se occiderat, in Agrippinensem coloniam misit Marti dedicandum.

With this passage we may compare Plutarch's statement (*Otho*, 18).

*Vespasian, 1*

Manebantque imagines a civitatibus ei positae sub hoc titulo: Καλῶς τελευτήσαντι.

An inscription, | ΚΑΛΩΣ ΤΕΛΩΝΗCΑΝΤΙ ΑΝ}, inscribed upon the base of a statue believed to be that of Vespasian, was reported first by Boissard, *Ant. Rom.* I, Tab. 51, then by Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.* III, 1, 10, Tab. 1, afterwards by Franz, *C. I. G.* 5897, and recently by Kaibel, *Inscr. Graec. Sicil. et Ital.* 123\*, who regards it as spurious.

*Titus, 4*

Tribunus militum et in Germania et in Britannia meruit summa industriae, nec minore modestiae fama, sicut apparet statuarum et imaginum eius multitudine ac titulis per utramque provinciam.

Not a single honorary inscription erected to Titus has thus far been found in Britain. The only three from that country that mention his name (*C. I. L.* VII, 1204, 1205; *Eph. Epig.* VII, 1121) are on pigs of lead. From Germany, only one is reported by Brambach, *C. I. Rh.*, Add. 2040. Suetonius knew of the existence of these tituli, very likely from the reports of the transactions of the Senate, preserved in the public archives.

#### IV. PASSAGES REFERRING IN A GENERAL WAY TO INSCRIPTIONS THEMSELVES, OR TO MONUMENTS OFTEN INSCRIBED

Reference is made in numerous passages to monuments that are, as a rule, inscribed, or, in a general way, to inscriptions. The most important instances of the latter are :

*Caesar, 28*

Ac mox, lege iam in aes incisa et in aerarium condita, corrigeret errorem.

With this compare *Vesp.* 8, below.

*Augustus, 31*

Itaque et opera cuiusque manentibus titulis restituit.

*Augustus, 97*

Cum lustrum in campo Martio magna populi frequentia conderet, aquila eum saepius circumvolavit, transgressaque in vicinam aedem super nomen Agrippae ad primam litteram sedit.

This building was perhaps the Pantheon ; see the inscription, *C.I.L.* VI, 896. Cf. Dio Cass. LIV, 28.

*Augustus, 97*

Sub idem tempus ictu fulminis ex inscriptione statuæ eius prima nominis littera effluxit.

Cf. Dio Cass. LIV, 29.

*Caligula, 14*

Non defuerunt qui depugnatos se armis pro salute aegri quique capita sua titulo proposito voverent.

*Caligula, 34*

Statuas virorum inlustrum, ab Augusto ex Capitolina area propter angustias in campum Martium conlatas, ita subvertit atque disiecit ut restitui salvis titulis non potuerint.

*Vespasianus, 8*

Aerearumque tabularum tria milia, quæ simul conflagraverant, restituenda suscepit, undique investigatis exemplaribus ; instrumentum imperii pulcherrimum ac vetustissimum, quo continebantur paene ab exordio urbis senatus consulta, plebi scita de societate et foedere ac privilegio cuicumque concessis.

From this passage we may infer that Suetonius was acquainted with monuments of the character described ; see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, I<sup>3</sup>, p. 257, n. 2. Cf. *Caes.* 28 (above, p. 53), and *Aug.* 94: *curasse ne senatus consultum ad aerarium deferretur.*

*Domitianus, 15*

Atque etiam e basi statuæ triumphalis titulus excussus vi procellæ in monimentum proximum decidit.

*Domitianus, 23*

Novissime eradendos ubique titulos abolendamque omnem memoriam decerneret.

The name of Domitian was not in all cases erased from his tituli, but very often. See *C.I.L.* II, 2477, III, 312, 4013, VI, 398, etc. Cf. Macrobian *Sat.* I, 12, 37.

Important references to monuments often provided with inscriptions are:

*Augustus, 1*

Ostendebatur ara Octavio consecrata.

*Augustus, 31*

Statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utraque fori sui porticu dedicavit.

Of the inscriptions cut upon these statues, the so-called *elogia*, some have been preserved, *C.I.L.* I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 185 f.

*Augustus, 59*

Medico Antonio Musae, cuius opera ex ancipiti morbo convaluerat, statuat aere conlato iuxta signum Aesculapi statuerunt.

*Tiberius, 5*

Et quod mox simulacrum Felicitatis ex S. C. publicatum ibi sit.

*Caligula, 7*

Quorum (Germanici et Agrippinae liberorum) duo infantes adhuc rapti, unus iam puerascens insigni festivitate, cuius effigiem habitu Cupidinis in aede Capitolinae Veneris Livia dedicavit.

*Claudius, 1*

Praeterea senatus inter alia complura marmoreum arcum cum tropaeis via Appia (Druso) decrevit.

Cf. Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* I, pp. 220, 221, nos. 1-6; Eckhel, *Doctrina Num.* VI, pp. 176, 177, for coin type representing this monument. See also Jordan, *Topogr. d. Stadt Rom*, I, 1, p. 365, n. 38.

*Claudius, 2*

Claudius natus est Iulio Antonio, Fabio Africano cons. Kl. Aug. Lugduni, eo ipso die quo primum ara ibi Augusto dedicata est.

See Gardthausen, *Augustus*, II, 2, pp. 364 ff., and cf. Strabo, IV, 3, p. 192.

*Claudius, 11*

Tiberio marmoreum arcum iuxta Pompei theatrum, decretum quidem olim a senatu verum omissum peregit.

*Nero, 50*

Reliquias (Neronis) Ecloge et Alexandria nutrices cum Acte concubina gentili Domitiorum monimento condiderunt, quod prospicitur e campo Martio impositum colli Hortulorum. In eo monimento solium porphyretici marmoris, superstante Lunensi ara, circumseptum est lapide Thasio.

Beyond doubt, Suetonius saw and examined this monument, and an inscription upon it may have been the source of his information regarding those who paid the last rites of burial to

Nero. For the location of the monument, see Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae* (Mediol. 1894), Fasc. II, Tab. I, and *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, III, 2, pp. 569 ff.

*Vespasianus*, 12

Quin et conantis quosdam originem Flavii generis ad conditores Reatinos comitemque Herculis, cuius monumentum extat Salaria via, referre irrisit ultro.

#### V. PASSAGES THAT EXHIBIT A RESEMBLANCE TO EXISTING INSCRIPTIONS

I have found three passages of this character, but the resemblance cannot be considered specially significant.

*Augustus*, 57

Equites R. natalem eius sponte atque consensu biduo semper celebrarunt. Omnes ordines in lacum Curti quot annis ex voto pro salute eius stipem iaciebant, item Kal. Ian. strenam in Capitolio, etiam absenti, ex qua summa pretiosissima deorum simulacra mercatus, vicatim dedicabat, ut Apollinem Sandaliarium et Iovem Tragoedum aliaque.

With this may be compared the inscription published in *Notiz. d. Scavi*, 1888, p. 224: IMP · CAES////DIVI · F · AVGVST | PONTIF · MAXIMVS · COS · XI | TRIBVNICIA · POTEST · XIII | EX STIPE · QVAM · POPVLVS · ROMANVS | K · IANVARILS · APSENTI · EI · CONTVLIT | IVLIO · ANTONIO · AFRICANO · FABIO · COS | **MERCVRIO · SACRVM**. See also *C.I.L.* VI, 456-458.

*Claudius*, 20

Claudiae aquae gelidos et uberes fontes, quorum alteri Caeruleo, alteri Curtio et Albudigno nomen est, simulque rivum Anienis novi lapideo opere in urbem perduxit, divisitque in plurimos et ornatissimos lacus.

With this we may compare the inscription which is still to be seen above the so-called *Porta Maggiore*, in the wall of Aurelian, at Rome, *C.I.L.* VI, 1256: TI · CLAVDIVS DRVSI F · CAISAR AVGVSTVS GERMANICVS PONTIF · MAXIM · | TRIBVNICIA POTESTATE XII COS · V IMPERATOR XXVII PATER PATRIAE | AQVAS CLAVDIAM EX FONTIBVS QVI VOCABANTVR CAERVLEVS ET CVRTIVS A MILLIARIO XXXV | ITEM ANIENEM NOVAM A MILLIARIO LXII SVA IMPENSA IN VRBEM PERDVENDAS CVRAVIT.



The additional matter in Suetonius's account points to another source. Cf. Pliny, *N. H.* 36, 121, 122. Frontinus, *De aquaeduct.* 1, 14, reads *Albudinus*, perhaps more correctly.

*Claudius*, 21

Fecit et Saeculares, quasi anticipatos ab Augusto nec legitimo tempori reservatos, quamvis ipse in historiis suis prodat, intermissos eos Augustum multo post, diligentissime annorum ratione subducta, in ordinem redegisse. Quare vox praeconis irrita est, invitantis more sollemni ad ludos, quos nec spectasset quisquam nec spectaturus esset, cum superessent adhuc qui spectaverant, et quidam histrionum producti olim tunc quoque producerentur.

Compare l. 56 of the familiar inscription commemorating the Ludi Saeculares, as celebrated by Augustus (*Eph. Epig.* VIII, p. 229); *has neque ultra quam semel ulli mor[talium eos spectare licet]*. Cf. also Zosimus, 2, 5: *περιμόντες οἱ κήρυκες, εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν συνιέναι πάντες ἐκέλευον ἐπὶ θέαν ἣν οὔτε πρότερον εἶδον οὔτε μετὰ ταῦτα θεάσονται*; and Herodianus, 3, 8, 10, *καλοῦντες ἦκειν καὶ θεάσασθαι πάντας ἃ μήτε εἶδον μήτε ὄψονται*. The passage in Suetonius may possibly be taken from a *Senatus-Consultum* passed in the time of Claudius, but worded like the one promulgated in connection with the celebration of Augustus.

## VI. MISCELLANEOUS REFERENCES

*Caesar*, 80

Peregrinis in senatum allectis, libellus propositus est: *Bonum factum: ne quis senatori novo curiam monstrare velit!*

*Vitellius*, 14

Statim libellus propositus est, *et Chaldaeos dicere, bonum factum, ne Vitellius Germanicus intra eundem Calendarum diem usquam esset.*

*Bonum factum*, abbreviated B·F·, occurs in inscriptions; cf. *Bull. Com.* 1882, p. 159, and 1884, p. 58; see also the Acta of the Ludi Saeculares, celebrated by Augustus, l. 80.

*Augustus*, 29

Multaque a multis tunc extracta sunt, sicut . . . a Munatio Planco aedes Saturni.

With these words compare *C.I.L.* X, 6087.

*Tiberius, 20*

Dedicavit et Concordiae aedem, item Pollucis et Castoris suo fratrisque nomine, de manubiis.

One wonders if Suetonius did not know this from an inspection of the dedicatory inscriptions of the respective temples.

*Augustus, 50*

In diplomatibus libellisque et epistolis signandis initio sphinge usus est, mox imagine Magni Alexandri, novissime sua, Dioscuridis manu sculpta, qua signare insecuti quoque principes perseverarunt.

Compare the Acta of the Fratres Arvales for February 26, of the year 118 A.D. (*C.I.L.* VI, p. 537).

Is it not possible that, in writing the account of the life of Germanicus (*Cal.* 1-7), Suetonius may have consulted the inscription, *C.I.L.* VI, 911, or an official copy of it?

*Caligula, 8*

This is interesting in showing how Suetonius has treated the conflicting testimony of historians, of an inscription, and of the Acta.

C. Caesar natus est pridie Kl. Sept. patre suo et C. Fonteio Capitone coss. Ubi natus sit, incertum diversitas tradentium facit. CN. Lentulus Gaetulicus Tiburi genitum scribit, Plinius Secundus in Treveris, vico Ambitarvio supra Confluentes; addit etiam pro argumento aras ibi ostendi inscriptas: ob Agrippinae puerperium. Versiculi imperante mox eo divulgati apud hibernas legiones procreatum indicant:

*In castris natus, patrius nutritus in armis,  
Iam designati principis omen erat.*

Ego in actis Anti editum invenio. Gaetulicum refellit Plinius quasi mentitum per adulationem, ut ad laudes juvenis gloriosique principis aliquid etiam ex urbe Herculi sacra sumeret, abusumque audentius mendacio, quod ante annum fere natus Germanico filius Tiburi fuerat, appellatus et ipse C. Caesar; de cuius amabili pueritia immaturoque obitu supra diximus. Plinium arguit ratio temporum. Nam qui res Augusti memoriae mandarunt, Germanicum exacto consulatu in Galliam missum consentiunt, iam nato Gaio.

Nec Plini opinionem inscriptio arae quicquam adiuverit, cum Agrippina bis in ea regione filias enixa sit, et qualiscumque partus sine ullo sexus discrimine puerperium vocetur, quod antiqui etiam puellas pueras, sicut et pueros pueros dictitarent. Extat et Augusti epistula, ante paucos quam

obiret menses ad Agrippinam neptem ita scripta de Gaio hoc (neque enim quisquam iam alius infans nomine pari tunc supererat): *Puerum Gaium XV. Kl. Iun. si dii volent ut ducerent Talarium et Asillium, heri cum iis constitui. Mitto praeterea cum eo ex servis meis medicum, quem scripsi Germanico si vellet ut retineret. Valebis, mea Agrippina, et dabis operam ut valens pervenias ad Germanicum tuum.* Abunde parere arbitror, non potuisse ibi nasci Gaium, quo prope bimulus demum perductus ab urbe sit. Versiculorum quoque fidem eadem haec elevat et eo facilius, quod ii sine auctore sunt. Sequenda est igitur, quae sola restat publici instrumenti auctoritas, praesertim cum Gaius Antium, omnibus semper locis atque secessibus praelatum, non aliter quam natale solum dilexerit tradaturque etiam sedem ac domicilium imperii taedio urbis transferre eo destinasse.

Thus Suetonius values the testimony of the *acta* highest. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* I, 41, confirming the evidence of the inscription. See above, p. 52.

*Caligula, 15*

The *tituli sepulcrales* of Agrippina and of Nero are extant (*C.I.L.* VI, 886, 887), but it is impossible to assert that Suetonius saw them.

*Caligula, 23*

Agrippae se nepotem neque credi neque dici ob ignobilitatem eius volebat, suscensebatque, si qui vel oratione vel carmine imaginibus eum Caesarum insererent.

See Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* I, p. 241, n. 31, and De Ruggiero, *Diz. Epigr.* II, p. 32 (*fin.*).

*Claudius, 17*

Ac sine ullo proelio aut sanguine intra paucissimos dies parte insulae in deditionem recepta, sexto quam profectus erat mense Romam rediit, triumphavitque maximo apparatu.

Smilda<sup>1</sup> thinks that Suetonius seems here to have followed the *titulus triumphalis*, *C.I.L.* VI, 920. Cf. note on *Vesp.* 4, p. 60.

*Claudius, 24*

Triumphalia ornamenta Silano, filiae suae sponso, nondum puberi dedit.

With this compare *C.I.L.* XIV, 2500.

<sup>1</sup> *C. Suetoni Tranquilli vita Divi Claudii*, Groningae, 1896, p. 79.

*Claudius, 25*

Equestris militias ita ordinavit, ut post cohortem alam, post alam tribunatum legionis daret.

With this compare the note of Cagnat (*Cours d'épig. latine*, p. 110), "cet ordre hiérarchique, qui n'est pas confirmé par les inscriptions de cette époque, fut, en tout cas, bientôt interverti"; but *C.I.L.* XIV, 2960 seems to be an example. So, too, what follows: *stipendiaque instituit et imaginariae militiae genus, quod vocatur supra numerum, quo absentes et titulo tenus fungerentur*, is hardly confirmed by the inscriptions; but cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, III, p. 552, n. 1. On the *militēs supernumerarii*, cf. Marquardt, *Organisation Mil.* (Paris, 1891), p. 223, n. 4.

It is interesting also to note here *Nero, 25: item statuas suas citharoedico habitu (qua nota etiam nummum percussit)*.

For coins with this type, see Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* I, p. 292, n. 196-203.

*Vespasianus, 4*

Claudio principe Narcissi gratia legatus legionis in Germaniam missus est; inde in Britanniam translatus, tricies cum hoste confluxit. Duas validissimas gentes superque viginti oppida et insulam Vectem Britanniae proximam in dicionem redegit, partim Auli Plauti legati consularis partim Claudii ipsius ductu.

"Worte denen," says Hübner, referring to this passage (*Hermes*, XVI, p. 528, n. 5), "wohl der Text einer Triumphalinschrift zu Grunde liegt."

There are some passages which, although they may have been taken from books as sources, still are expressed in language peculiar to inscriptions, e. g. *Aug. 30: Aedes sacras vetustate conlapsas aut incendio absumptas refecit; Cal. 21: Syracusis conlapsa vetustate moenia deorumque aedes refectae; Claud. 25: templumque in Sicilia Veneris Erycinae vetustate conlapsum ut ex aerario pop. R. reficeretur, auctor fuit; Aug. 59: statuam aere conlato . . . statuerunt; Caes. 26: Forum de manubiis<sup>1</sup> inchoavit*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Aug. 30, ex manubiali pecunia*, which is not the language of inscriptions.

VII. THE COGNOMINA AND TITLES OF THE EMPERORS,  
OCCURRING IN SUETONIUS'S NARRATIVE, AS CONFIRMED  
BY THE INSCRIPTIONS

I have investigated this phase of the subject, so that, if possible, it might appear whether, in obtaining his knowledge of these titles or cognomina, Suetonius made use of literary evidence only, or corroborated what he found in written documents, by an inspection also of epigraphical evidence.

*Caesar, 76*

Non enim honores modo nimios recepit; continuum consulatum, perpetuam dictaturam, praefecturamque morum, insuper praenomen Imperatoris, cognomen Patris patriae.

Of these offices, we have inscriptional evidence for only *dictator*, *C.I.L.* II, 5439, IX, 2563, 4191; for *pater patriae*, IX, 34; and *imperator*, IX, 2563, II, 5439, c. 104, where *imperator* is not a praenomen. Cf. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* 14. 10. 2; 14. 10. 7, and on the other hand, *C.I.G.* 3668, *C.I.L.* I, p. 398 (iv. non. Aug.). See in general *C.I.L.* I, pp. 451-453, and Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II, p. 767, n. 1.

*Augustus, 7*

Infanti cognomen Thurino inditum est.

See above, pp. 45 ff.

*Augustus, 7*

Postea Gai Caesaris et deinde Augusti cognomen assumpsit.

This does not need to be confirmed by inscriptions (cf. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigr. lat.* p. 171).

*Augustus, 58*

Patris patriae cognomen universi repentino maximoque consensu detulerunt ei.

Cf. Cagnat (*l.c.*), and *Fast. Praen.*, non. Febr. (*C.I.L.* I<sup>2</sup>, p. 309).

*Tiberius, 17*

Censuerunt etiam quidam ut Pannonicus, alii ut Invictus, nonnulli ut Pius cognominaretur. Sed de cognomine intercessit Augustus, eo contentum repromittens, quod se defuncto suscepturus esset.

None of the tituli of Tiberius show these cognomina, not even those erected after the death of Augustus. See *C.I.L.* IX, p. 698, n. to 4192, May 26.

*Tiberius, 26, 67*

Praenomen quoque imperatoris cognomenque patris patriae, et civicam in vestibulo coronam recusavit; ac ne Augusti quidem nomen, quamquam hereditarium, ullis nisi ad reges ac dynastas epistolis addidit.

Ideoque, ut imperium inierit, et patris patriae appellationem . . . recusasse.

The praenomen of *Imperator* nowhere occurs in the inscriptions of Tiberius of Italian provenance, but appears in three entire inscriptions from Africa (*C.I.L.* VIII, 685, 10023; *Eph. Epig.* V, 1436; and in two that are mutilated, VIII, 5205, 10018 (perhaps also 10492).

There has been found, so far as I know, no Latin titulus of Tiberius in which he is called *pater patriae* (see *C.I.G.* 2087), although Cagnat (p. 160) makes the statement that all the Emperors bore this title; but cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II, pp. 779, 780. The phrase in § 67 (*existimant quidam*) seems to refer to some written source of information. Suetonius's statement is corroborated by Tac. *Ann.* I, 72; Dio Cass. LVII, 8.

Tiberius is often called *Augustus* in inscriptions, although it is to be noted here that Suetonius's source was the letters of the Emperor.

*Tiberius, 50*

Tulit etiam perindigne actum in senatu, ut titulus suis quasi Augusti, ita et Liviae filius adiceretur. Quare non parentem patriae appellari, non ullum insignem honorem recipere publice passus est.

Tiberius's *filiation* is nowhere expressed thus in his inscriptions, although Livia is occasionally called *mater Ti. Caesaris*, as in *C.I.L.* II, 2038; IX, 3304; X, 7340, 7501; *Eph. Epig.* IV, 366. There is no epigraphical evidence for Livia being *parens patriae*, but she has the title of *mater patriae* on the coins of the colonies. See Eckhel, *Doctrina Num.* VI, p. 155.

*Caligula, 22*

Compluribus cognominibus adsumptis (nam et pius et castrorum filius et pater exercituum et optimus maximus Caesar vocabatur) . . . et quidam eum Latiarem Iovem consalutarunt.

None of these cognomina are, of course, found in the tituli of Caligula, while in our passage no mention is made of the cognomen of Germanicus which alone has epigraphical evidence; so, too, the fact that Caligula refused the praenomen of Imperator is passed by in silence.

*Claudius, 1*

Germanici cognomen (senatus decrevit) ipsi (Druso patri) posterisque eius.

Drusus is often called Germanicus in his tituli, Claudius nearly everywhere; but it is clear that Suetonius knew this from a decree of the Senate.

*Claudius, 12*

Praenomine Imperatoris abstinuit.

This is generally confirmed by the monuments; exceptions are in the Acta of the Fratres Arvales, *C.I.L.* VI, p. 467<sup>e</sup>, l. 10 f.

*Nero, 8*

Ex immensis, quibus cumulabatur, honoribus tantum Patris patriae nomine recusato propter aetatem.

Nero assumed the title at the end of 55 A.D. (Egbert, *Latin Inscriptions*, p. 128), but *quod notabile est*, it does not occur in the *privilegium* of the year 60, July 2 (*C.I.L.* III, p. 845).

*Galba, 4*

Adoptatusque (Galba) a noverca sua Livi nomen et Ocellae cognomen assumpsit, mutato praenomine; nam Lucium mox pro Servio usque ad tempus imperii usurpavit.

The inscriptions of Galba are, of course, very few in number, especially those that were erected before he was saluted Emperor, so that upon no monument inscribed in Latin is he called Lucius Livius Ocella. In *C.I.G.* 4957, however, his name is given Λούκιος Λίβιος Σεβαστὸς Σουλπίκιος Γάλβας Αὐτοκράτωρ and Λούκιος Λεῖβιος Σουλπίκιος Γάλβας Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Αὐτοκράτωρ. See *C.I.L.* VI, 1446, and Eckhel, *Doctrina Num.* VI, pp. 299, 300.

*Galba, 4*, Ser. Galba Imp.

*Otho, 2*, Otho imperator.

*Vit. 3*, A. Vitellius L. filius Imperator.

The praenomen *Imperator* regularly precedes the nomen on the coins of Otho (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* I, pp. 352-354), and regularly follows the nomen on the coins of Vitellius (Cohen, *l.c.* pp. 355 f.); on the coins of Galba, however, it is very often put after the nomen, sometimes also before it (Cohen, pp. 319 ff.; Eckhel, *op. cit.* pp. 291, 292). This order is confirmed by the few existing inscriptions, *C.I.L.* III, p. 1958; X, 770, 771; VI, 929, pp. 496, 498; XIV, 2496<sup>a</sup> (cf. *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1871, p. 21); with the exception of *C.I.L.* X, 8016, where see the note. Cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II, p. 769, n. 5, and Eckhel, *op. cit.* VIII, p. 349, § 1.

*Vitellius, 8*

Cognomen Germanici delatum ab universis cupide recepit, Augusti distulit, Caesaris in perpetuum recusavit.

In the inscriptions Vitellius is regularly called *Germanicus*; he is called *Augustus* in the mutilated inscription, *C.I.L.* XIV, 2496<sup>a</sup>, if it has been rightly restored by Dessau (see Index, III), and also in the fragmentary Acta of the Fratres Arvales, a.d. III non. Iun., *C.I.L.* VI, p. 499, Tab. II, l. 12; yet he is not given this title in the Acta of IIII kal. Iun., and it is not found upon coins (Eckhel, *op. cit.* VI, p. 309). There is no epigraphical evidence that Vitellius bore the cognomen *Caesar*, with the exception of the mutilated inscription, X, 8016, a TVRRE XLIIII | imP · A · VITELLIVS · CIIII. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 1, 62; 2, 62; 3, 58.

*Vitellius, 11*

Seque perpetuum consulem (ordinavit).

This is confirmed by *C.I.L.* VI, 929, A · VITELLIVS | · IMPERATOR · | COS · PERP. Cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II, p. 1097, n. 2.

*Vespasianus, 12*

Ac ne tribuniciam quidem potestatem \* patris patriae appellationem nisi sero recepit. [Roth supplies *aut* before *patriis*.]

Vespasian received the *tribunica potestas* for the first time on July 1, 69 A.D. The inscription in which he is first called *pater patriae*, *C.I.L.* X, 8005, belongs to the year 70 (some time before July 1), and yet in the *militum privilegium* VI



(*C.I.L.* III, p. 849), dated March 7 of the same year, he does not have this title. But this is not important, for, although the Emperor is named *pater patriae* in the *privilegia* (*C.I.L.* III, pp. 850, 1959) of April 5, 71 A.D., he is not in later inscriptions, *C.I.L.* X, 3828 (77 A.D.), 3829 (78 A.D.), XIV, 3485.

*Titus, 6*

Triumphavit cum patre censuramque gessit una, eidem collega et in tribunicia potestate et in septem consulatibus fuit.

Titus was censor together with his father in the years 73 and 74 A.D. (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II, p. 338, n. 1). Also, having had his father as colleague throughout, he was holding the *tribunicia potestas* for the eighth time, and was consul for the seventh time, when Vespasian died on July 23, 79 A.D.

*Domitianus, 13*

Pari arrogantia, cum procuratorum suorum nomine formalem dictaret epistulam, sic coepit: *Dominus et deus noster hoc fieri iubet*. Unde institutum posthac, ut ne scripto quidem ac sermone cuiusquam appellaretur aliter. . . . Consulatus septemdecim cepit, quot ante eum nemo; ex quibus septem medios continuavit, . . . Germanici cognomine assumpto.

In the inscriptions, at any rate, Domitian is nowhere named *Dominus et Deus*. See Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II, pp. 760-763; Eckhel, VIII, pp. 364 fol.; and cf. *Aug.* 53, *Tib.* 27.

It is shown by epigraphic evidence also that Domitian, surpassing all previous records, held the consulship seventeen times, and from the year 82 to 88 continuously. In the year 84 he assumed the cognomen *Germanicus*, which occurs generally in his inscriptions.

It is necessary merely to refer to the other consulships and censorships mentioned by Suetonius. See *Caes.* 76; *Cal.* 17; *Claud.* 14, 16; *Vit.* 2; *Vesp.* 4, 8.

If we consider it certain that the resemblances existing between the text of Suetonius and the Monumentum Ancyranum were due to the fact that the historian made extracts, not from the inscription itself, but from an original document providing for its erection, or a written copy of that document,

there are only four passages (*Aug.* 7; *Cal.* 23; *Tib.* 5; *Claud.* 41) which clearly show that Suetonius made use of epigraphic sources.

In the case of the other passages, although the account of Suetonius often agrees with what is found in inscriptions (matter, however, which could be taken as well from literary sources), there are yet some passages which prove that Suetonius not only did not make use of the most ordinary and commonly occurring tituli, but did not even read them carefully; if he had done so, we should hardly expect him to make the statement he does with regard, for instance, to the praenomen *Augustus* being refused by Tiberius (*Tib.* 26), and with regard to other matters, such as those dealt with in *Tib.* 50 (see above, p. 62); *Nero*, 8 (p. 63); *Galba*, 2 (p. 50).

On the other hand, we cannot know definitely how many inscriptions, of which he has made no mention, Suetonius may have examined and used as sources. In one instance, *Cal.* 8 (see above, p. 58), it is noteworthy that he has quoted an inscription as deserving some consideration.

Suetonius, as we have seen, held the important position of *epistolarum magister* under Hadrian (*Spart.* 12, 3), and so, doubtless, had access to all important state documents and writings that were preserved in various archives. A wealth of written historical material was to be found in these archives and in the libraries; he was not therefore under the necessity of consulting epigraphic monuments directly. In these times, however, the amount of documentary evidence available is comparatively small, and we must rely much more largely upon inscriptions than the ancients did. Finally, as G. Becker remarks (*J. J.* 81, p. 195), "Suetonius potius grammaticus erat quam rerum scriptor, et Caesarum Vitas eisdem rationibus quibusdam composuit quibus res grammaticas scribebat."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. Lehmann, *Claudius und Nero und ihre Zeit*, Gotha, 1858, pp. 49, 50.

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